



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# THE CHURCHES AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

---

SAMUEL ZANE BATTEN, D.D.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

---

Religion is both a conservative and a progressive principle in human society. It is naturally conservative in that it stands for law and order, for the ancient faith, the approved experience. It must be said that many of the religions of the world have overemphasized this principle, sometimes to the almost utter exclusion of the other aspects of progress. But that form of religion known as Christianity is essentially progressive, for it believes in a better world; it cherishes the hope of a kingdom that is to come. Both for the person and for society it believes in growth and progress. Christianity as it has wrought during the centuries has been a conservative influence, a stabilizing force. But it has also been the inspiration of many reforms, the potency of continual progress.

The church as the embodiment of Christianity has been a conservative and a progressive institution. It contends for the faith once delivered to the saints; it has a history and traditions which are sacred. It is perhaps inevitable that it should be a conservative body, somewhat doubtful of the new experiment and rather slow to take a new position. For this reason the church has been critical of any new doctrines and has sometimes stood in the way of progress.

This undue attachment to the past, this concern for order and organization, have made much of the tragedy of history. The men who stood for justice

and progress more than once have been compelled to step outside the organized church. This has resulted in a sad cleavage in life. The new movement has gone forward outside the church, often without the spiritual motive or the Christian ideal. It has thus become purely secular in spirit and method, and the church has fallen out of touch with its age and lost an opportunity of marching at the head of human progress.

The world today is in a transition period. The war developed into a world-war, and before it closed it had become a world-revolution. Things will never be as they were before. The present hour is one of the great turning-points of history. Changing the figure, we may say that it is a new creative epoch. The Spirit of God is brooding over the world and is mothering a new world into being. If ever an age needed the Christian ideal, the Christian motive, and the Christian spirit, this is the day. It would be an immeasurable tragedy for the Christian church to fall out of touch with the age and for the world to fight its weary way into a better time without the guidance and inspiration of religion.

The men of this generation are called to build a new social order. The fires of judgment which have passed over the world have tried men's works of what sort they were. And some serious and fatal defects have been found in the social structure. It may be that the war

has created few wholly new problems; but it has lifted some old problems into a new significance. Today the world needs a great and commanding ideal that can explain life and offer a rallying center for the nations. It needs a clear sense of direction in social progress. It needs to know what are the false principles and ideas to be rejected and what are the true principles and ideas to be accepted.

It is just here that we mark one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Many times in the past the church has failed to read the signs of the times; and so it has failed to hear what the Spirit was saying to the churches. Today the churches are trying to read these signs and are seeking to know what the Spirit is saying unto them. And many things indicate that in the great revolution that is coming the churches are prepared to exercise a wise and strong leadership. There are many alarming features about the present situation; but this attitude of the churches is one of the most reassuring. This will become evident as we proceed.

For a generation the social gospel has received a new emphasis and exposition, and this has affected the mind of the churches. Nearly all of the religious bodies have had commissions or agencies that have been making a special study of social questions. We do not mean to imply that the rank and file of the people have the social mind and understand the times. But the churches have placed men of understanding in the place of leadership; and these leaders are earnestly seeking to give men a sense of direction and to bring up the line to the colors.

Many of the religious bodies in Britain and America have issued statements setting forth both the principles of social reconstruction and the next steps in progress. As might be expected, these statements vary greatly, both in their approach to the questions and the things to be done. Some move largely in the realm of principles and attempt little in the way of a program. But others are frankly opportunists in the best sense of the term, and present a social platform. Some deal largely with amelioratives and reforms, while several declarations at least recognize fundamental defects in the social order and are more thoroughgoing in their discussion. The hopeful thing is, however, that so many religious bodies have spoken so clearly and unmistakably.

We give here summaries of these declarations as put forth by a number of religious bodies. Space does not permit the quotation of illustrative material, nor does it permit the discussion of method. These statements are worthy of careful study, and they should be made accessible to all students and pastors.

One of the earliest declarations was the British Interdenominational Statement.

#### **The British Interdenominational Statement**

During the war an organization known as the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions of Great Britain, comprising ten religious bodies, including the Church of England and the Roman Catholic, carefully studied the social situation and formulated a statement of social reconstruction. This statement, as summarized by the National Catholic Council, is as follows:

This statement deals with principles, evils, and remedies. Presuming that Christianity provides indispensable guiding principles and powerful motives of social reform, it lays down the basis proposition that every human being is of inestimable worth and that legislation should recognize persons as more sacred than property, therefore the state should enforce a minimum living wage; enable the worker to obtain some control of industrial conditions; supplement private initiative in providing decent housing; prevent the occurrence of unemployment; safeguard the right of the laborer and his family to a reasonable amount of rest and recreation; remove those industrial and social conditions which hinder marriage and encourage an unnatural restriction of families; and afford ample opportunities for education of all children industrially, culturally, religiously, and morally. On the other hand, rights imply duties, and the individual is obliged to respect the rights of others, to cultivate self-control, to recognize that labor is the law of life and that wealth is a trust. Finally, the statement points out that all social reform must take as its end and guide the maintenance of pure and wholesome family life.

Such in barest outline are the main propositions and principles of this remarkable program. The text contains adequate exposition of the development and application of all these points, and concrete specifications of the methods and measures by which the aims and principles may be brought into effect. In the latter respect the statement is not liable to the fatal objection that is frequently and fairly urged against the reform pronouncements of religious bodies: that they are abstract, platitudinous, and usually harmless. The statement of the Interdenominational Conference points out specific remedies for the evils that it describes, specific measures, legislative and other, by which the principles may be realized in actual life.

In 1918 the English archbishops appointed the English Archbishops' Committee of Inquiry, a committee of representative people, to make a study of industrial questions and prepare a statement. This, which is one of the most thoroughgoing discussions of social questions, is issued over the authorization of the Archbishop of Canterbury under the title, "Christianity and Industrial Problems." A summary is as follows:

1. The teaching of Christianity is binding upon men, not only in their personal and domestic conduct, but in their economic activity and industrial organization. It is the duty of the Christian church to urge that considerations of Christian morality must be applied to all such social relationships.

2. While it is evident that industrial relations are embittered by faults of temper and lack of generosity on the part of employers, employed, and of the general public also, an examination of the facts compels the conclusion that the existing industrial system makes it exceedingly difficult to carry out the principles of Christianity. The solution of the industrial problem involves, therefore, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the system itself.

3. The fundamental evil of modern industrialism is that it encourages competition for private gain instead of co-operation for public service. This perversion of motive fosters:

- a) An organization of industry which treats the workers as hands rather than as persons, and which deprives them of the control which they may reasonably claim to exercise over the conditions under which they earn their livelihood.

- b) The absence of responsibility on the part of those employed for the permanent results of their industry and of human interest in the work which they do: evils which are intensified by the mechanical and

monotonous character of many of the processes and duties required.

c) A disposition on the part of some of those engaged in industry to seek their own advantage at the expense of the community by unduly limiting the output, raising the prices, or deteriorating the quality of the work which they perform.

d) Conditions of poverty which do not arise from individual defects or from natural scarcity, but which exist side by side with excessive riches.

e) An organization of industry which creates a condition of insecurity among the workers and which makes their livelihood precarious and uncertain.

f) An attitude of mutual antagonism and suspicion between the different parties engaged in industry.

4. The conception of industry as a selfish competitive struggle is un-Christian. Industry ought to be regarded primarily as a social service, based on the effort of every individual to discharge his duty to his neighbor and to the community.

5. The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. There is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them, and no inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by work his claim to maintenance, on the principle laid down by St. Paul. Large expenditure on amusements and luxuries should be discouraged in all classes of society and wasteful habits should be condemned.

6. The first charge upon every industry should be the payment of a sufficient wage to enable the worker to maintain himself and his family in health and honor, with such a margin of leisure as will permit reasonable recreation and the development of mind and spirit. Excessive hours of work should, therefore, be prevented, and overtime and Sunday labor should be reduced to a minimum.

7. The principle of the living wage involves not only adequate payment during employment but continuity of employment. The deliberate casualization of labor merely for the convenience of employers is strongly to be condemned. It is the duty of employers, of workers, and of the state to aim at substituting regular employment and wages for casual employment and wages. Provision should be made for the adequate maintenance of the worker during a time of industrial slackness by an extension of the system of insurance against unemployment and by any other means which may seem desirable.

8. Profits in some industrial undertakings are excessive. There is no moral justification for profits which exceed the amount needed to pay adequate salaries to the management and a fair rate of interest on the capital invested, and to insure the growth and development of the industry.

9. After the charges on industry mentioned in 5, 7, and 8 have been met, any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the whole community.

10. The past use of children as wealth producers stands condemned for folly and injustice, and in future the demands of industry should not be allowed to prevent any child from securing full opportunities of education as a human being and a citizen. The organization of industry ought to aim at becoming such as to allow young persons (a) to attend school full time up to 15, and, ultimately, up to 16; (b) to spend, unless engaged in occupations which are themselves directly educational, not less than half their working-time in continued school education between the age at which they cease full-time attendance at school and the age of 18.

11. Experience suggests that unrestricted competition among workers and among employers tends to result in social degradation, and that trade associations, including all workers, both men and women, in each

industry, and similar associations, including all employers, are the best foundation of mutual understanding, industrial peace, and social progress.

12. It is desirable that those industries in which experience has shown organization to be impossible or very difficult should be regulated by trade boards on the principle of the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Such boards should have power to fix minimum rates of payment, maximum hours of labor, and such other conditions of employment as it may from time to time appear to them desirable to regulate.

13. It is desirable that the discussion in common of industrial questions and the collective settlement of industrial conditions should be widely extended, and that with this object:

*a)* It should be the normal practice in organized trades for representatives of employers and workers to confer at regular intervals, not merely upon wages and working conditions, but upon all such questions affecting the trade as may be suitable for common discussion. The associations representing individual industries might be federated in a larger and more representative body—a national industrial parliament representing the statesmanship of all parties concerned in industry.

*b)* Representatives of the workers in different workshops should be normally and permanently associated with the management in matters affecting their livelihood and comfort and the welfare of the business, such as the fixing and alteration of piece-rates, the improvement of processes and machinery and the settlement of the terms upon which they are to be introduced, workshop discipline, and the establishment of the maximum possible security of employment.

*c)* Every effort should be made to avoid all delay in the settlement of disputes.

*d)* When the employer and employees in any individual industry fail to agree with regard to any matter in dispute, the disputed

point should be referred to the industrial parliament, composed of representatives of all industries, for inquiry, report, and decision.

14. In order to facilitate the provision by local authorities in such service as the inhabitants of different areas may require, local authorities should in future be free to undertake such services, subject to such central control and approval as may be needed to maintain efficiency and to check exorbitant borrowing.

15. In order to secure the publicity which is essential to the realization of social responsibility, the names and addresses of all owners of urban land and house property, and of all other persons having a legal interest in them, should be registered with the local public authority and should be accessible to the public.

16. In order to facilitate the orderly and healthful growth of towns, local authorities ought to have power to acquire and hold land for such purposes as they may deem proper.

17. In order to discourage the withholding from the market of land in, or on the outskirts of, towns in a way which is contrary to the public interest, urban land, subject to adequate provision being made for open spaces, should be specially and heavily rated.

18. A large number of persons in Great Britain are at present housed under conditions which are a grave menace to their physical and moral well-being. It is the duty of the state and local authorities to insure the provision of sufficient and healthful housing accommodation: (*a*) by compulsorily acquiring and holding land, as stated above; (*b*) by planning the development of towns with a due regard to the provision of open spaces; (*c*) by themselves undertaking the building of houses in those districts in which the supply of houses is or is likely to be inadequate.

19. It is the duty of the clergy to teach the application of the Christian faith to

social and industrial practice. It is desirable, therefore, (a) that they should acquaint themselves by every means in their power with the social aims and aspirations of those to whom they minister; (b) that they should be drawn from all classes in the community, and that no boy who has a vocation for the ministry should be prevented by poverty from entering it; (c) that the preparation of the clergy for the ministry should include a training in economic and social science; (d) that the clergy should regard the maintenance by their example and precept of a high standard of citizenship and social morality as part of the duties of their office, and should, when practicable, take the initiative in promoting reforms; (e) that they should consider the advisability of devolving upon the laity some of the duties of parochial administration which now fall upon them.

### **The British Quaker Employers**

In 1918 a number of employers belonging to the Society of Friends came together to consider the duty of examining their religious faith and giving it fuller expression in business life. They reached an agreement and submitted a significant statement. This deals with: wages; the status of workers; security of employment; working conditions and social life of the workers; appropriation of surplus profits.

#### **With Regard to Wages**

In determining the rate of wage to be paid, a distinction must be drawn between the minimum or "basic" wage and wages above the minimum, which may be referred to as "secondary" wages. The former should be determined primarily by human needs; the latter by the value of the service rendered as compared with the value of the services rendered by workers who are receiving the basic or minimum wages.

*Basic wages.*—(a) Men: The wages paid a man of average industry and capacity should at least enable him to marry, to live in a decent house, and to provide the necessities of physical efficiency for a normal family, while allowing a reasonable margin for contingencies and recreation. (b) Women: In the case of women engaged upon work which has hitherto been regarded as man's work, the payment should be equal for the same volume and quality of work, assuming equal adaptability to other necessary work. In the case of purely women's work, the basic wage for a woman of average industry and capacity should be the sum necessary to maintain her in a decent dwelling and in a state of full physical efficiency, and to allow a reasonable margin for contingencies and recreation.

#### **Status of the Worker**

The worker asks today for more than an improvement in his economic position. He claims from employers and managers the clear recognition of his rights as a person. The justice of this claim our religion compels us to admit. We cannot regard human beings as if they were so many units of brain power, so many of nervous or muscular energy. We must co-operate with them, and treat them as we ourselves wish to be treated. This position involves the surrender by capital of its supposed right to dictate to labor the conditions under which work shall be carried on. It involves more: the frank avowal that all matters affecting the workers should be decided in consultation with them, when once they are recognized as members of an all-embracing human brotherhood.

The management of a business may be divided broadly under three heads:

1. *Financial.*—The provision of capital and appropriation of profit; relations with shareholders, bankers, competing businesses, the state, terms of credit, etc.

2. *Commercial.*—Determination of the general character of the goods to be

manufactured or of the class of work to be undertaken; purchase of materials; sale of products; advertising.

3. *Industrial*.—Control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of employees; hours of work; rates of pay, bonuses, etc.; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade unions.

With the financial and commercial aspects of the business the worker is not at present so directly concerned, although indirectly they affect him vitally. But in the industrial policy of the business he is directly and continuously interested, and he is capable of helping to determine it. How can we give him an opportunity of doing this?

#### **Security of Employment**

Regarding the industrial life of the worker from the standpoint of his whole personality, hardly anything is of greater moment than that, while he is willing to work and capable of doing so, he should be able to rely upon a regular income. It is universally acknowledged that insecurity of employment, which is found in the most aggravated form among casual workers, such as dockers, has a deteriorating effect on both physique and character. We believe, moreover, that restricted output and opposition to the introduction of machinery are almost always the result of the employee's fear that he or his fellow-worker may be thrown out of employment.

We believe that it is the duty of employers to do their utmost to abolish casual labor and to render employment as regular as possible.

It is not within the scope of this memorandum to discuss any measure which should be taken by the state or by trade unions or employers' federations in furtherance of these ends. But individual employers can and should do much to remedy the present evil, and we make the following suggestions:

1. The business should be carefully organized (*a*) with a view to reducing the

employment of casual labor to the very lowest limit; and (*b*) to regularizing work throughout the year so far as possible.

2. Where labor-saving machinery is introduced, every effort should be made to absorb the workers displaced, without loss of wage, in other departments of the business. If this is impracticable, the firm should endeavor to find work for them elsewhere. The same rule applies to a temporary surplus of labor which may be created by an improvement in production.

#### **Working Conditions**

The working conditions of a factory should enable and encourage every worker to be and do his best. These conditions may be considered under two heads:

1. *Personal environment*.—From the moment that a worker enters a factory he should be regarded as an integral part of a living organism, not a mere dividend-producing machine, and treated with respect and courtesy. There should be no nagging or bullying by those in authority but, on the contrary, insight and leadership. This involves careful choice of overlookers and managers, who should be able both to lead and inspire. At present such officers are often selected solely on account of their technical knowledge, and sometimes, it is to be feared, because they possess the faculty of getting work out of men by driving them.

2. *Material environment*.—Employers should surround their employees with a material environment at work such as they would desire for themselves or for their children. This will mean that workrooms are properly ventilated and kept at suitable temperatures, that they are adequately lit, and that due regard is paid to cleanliness. Cloakrooms and lavatories should be so kept that employees coming from well-kept homes may find no cause for complaint. The workers should be safeguarded against any undue strain from the length of the working day or the severity of labor. In



determining systems of payment, it should never be forgotten that unwise methods of stimulating workers to do their utmost may result in overstrain. Facilities should be given them for spending the dinner hour under restful and comfortable conditions, as well as for obtaining food at reasonable rates. If such facilities cannot be provided within the factory, they might perhaps be arranged outside.

#### **Appropriation of Surplus Profits**

1. Surplus profits may go to one or more of the following: (a) The proprietors of the business, whether private individuals or ordinary shareholders; (b) the directors and principal managers, who may or may not be the same as the persons mentioned under (2); (c) the employees; (d) the consumers; (e) the community generally.

2. We cannot believe that either the proprietors or the workers are entitled to the whole of the surplus profits of the business, though they might reasonably ask for such a share as would give them an interest in its financial prosperity.

3. The consumer should never be exploited. The price charged to him should always be reasonable, having in view the average cost of production and distribution; and the state should be asked to interfere to protect his interests when they are threatened by monopoly.

In this connection we would ask all employers to consider very carefully whether their style of living and personal expenditure are restricted to what is needed to insure the efficient performance of their function in society. More than this is waste, and is, moreover, a great cause of class divisions.

#### **The Methodist Church of Canada**

The Department of Evangelism and Social Service submitted a report which was adopted by the General Conference in 1918:

The Golden Rule demands that what we regard as necessary and advantageous for ourselves and our families, we shall regard as necessary and advantageous for others and their families; what we claim and accept as our rights, we shall admit to be the rights of others. We shall not purchase our pleasure and advantage at the cost of the disadvantage or practical enslavement of others—Rom. 13.

1. *Special privilege condemned.*—We declare all special privilege not based on useful service to the community to be a violation of the principle of justice, which is the foundation of democracy.

2. *Democratic commercial organization.*—We declare that forms of industrial organization should be developed which call labor to a voice in the management and a share in the profits and risks of business. All forms of autocratic organization of business should be discouraged. We call attention to the remarkable and unchallenged success of the co-operative stores, factories, and steamship lines of England and Scotland, as great examples of democracy in industry.

3. *Profits of labor and capital.*—We declare it to be un-Christian to accept profits when laborers do not receive a living wage, or when capital receives disproportionate returns as compared with labor.

4. *Old-age insurance.*—We recommend old-age insurance on a national scale, in which the annuity paid shall be based upon the average earnings of the country, each year of a man's effective life. This would protect all citizens from the fear of penury in old age, and at the same time would make every citizen directly interested in both the prosperity of every business in the country and the good health and industry of every fellow-citizen.

5. *Unearned wealth.*—We condemn speculation in land, grain, foodstuffs, and natural resources, as well as the frequent capture of unearned wealth through over-capitalization of commercial enterprises.

We place the principle of the Golden Rule before the man who seeks wealth by investment and then endeavors to escape impending loss by unloading upon others. These are dangerous forms of economic injustice in which we cannot engage without sin. Is there not in our church a widespread call for repentance and confession of sin in this regard?

6. *Profiteering*.—As the people are virtual partners in every business enterprise, we condemn that profiteering which takes out of them profits not justified by the value or cost of the service rendered. We recommend the enactment of legislation which shall secure to labor a fair wage adequate to a proper standard of living, to the business a fair profit adequate for its continuance, and to the public all returns in excess of these.

7. *Nationalization of national resources*.—We are in favor of the nationalization of our national resources, such as mines, water-powers, fisheries, forests, the means of communication and transportation and public utilities on which all the people depend.

8. *The company-owned town*.—We call attention to the closed or company town as a menace to democracy, in that the citizens are in danger of being robbed of freedom of political action and of power to demand proper sanitary, educational and social conditions for themselves and their children.

9. *Sympathy with labor*.—As followers of the Carpenter of Nazareth, we sympathetically seek to understand the problems of life as they confront the classes of labor in Canada, and thus rightly estimate the pleas they make for justice, and find in them allies in the struggle to realize the ends of fair play, humanity, and brotherhood.

10. *The message of the church is for all*.—The church has a message to all classes of people. All citizens in the ranks of employees, on account of living in a Christian land and being endowed with its free

citizenship, are under obligation to do faithfully the work for which they take the wage to treat no engagement as a "scrap of paper," and to carry a brother's heart toward all their fellow-citizens. "Speak every man truth with his neighbor, for ye are members one of another," wrote St. Paul. For the same reason all the virtues are called for. Thus the facts of life, as found in our human relations, carry with them a divine sanction and demand of all alike the observance of the great commandments of the law and the new commandment which Christ has given us.

### **The Federal Council of the Churches**

In the United States a number of bodies have issued statements bearing upon social reconstruction. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ has submitted a statement prepared by the Commission on the Church and Social Service. The statements concerning several social and industrial subjects are summarized as follows:

The church finds itself this May of 1919 in the midst of profound unrest and suffering. The entire social fabric of some of the most advanced nations is in chaos and their people menaced by starvation, while other powerful nations, of which the United States is one, have experienced loss of life, material, and capital in the great war, and serious industrial disorganization and unemployment. It is, moreover, a world suffering from overstrain and agitated by conflicting programs of reorganization.

Fortunately the church has undergone, within the last decade and especially during the war, an enlargement of scope which amounts to a transformation. The churches today recognize, as they did not a generation ago, that the Kingdom of God is as comprehensive as human life with all of its interests and needs, and that they share in a common responsibility for a Christian

world-order. They are convinced that the world is the subject of redemption; that the ethical principles of the Gospels are to be applied to industry and to the relations of nations; that the church is to devote itself henceforth assiduously to these purposes, along with the individual ministers of religion.

#### **Social Reconstruction**

The Social Creed of the Churches was formulated seven years ago as a statement of the social faith of the Protestant churches of the United States. Although necessarily general in its terms, it has been understood and has had far-reaching influence, especially in crystallizing the thought of Christian people. It has stood the test of these years, and we now reaffirm it as still expressing the ideals and purposes of the churches. But this earlier statement of social faith now requires additional statements to meet the changed world which has come out of the war. The declarations that follow may be considered as corollaries of these long-standing articles of faith. They should be read in connection with the statement on reconstruction of the various denominations in the United States and Canada, and the significant monograph of the Archbishop's Fifth Committee of the Church of England.

#### **Labor's Share in Management**

A deep cause of unrest in industry is the denial to labor of a share of industrial management. Controversies over wages and hours never go to the root of the industrial problem. Democracy must be applied to the government of industry as well as to the government of the nation, as rapidly and as far as the workers shall become able and willing to accept such responsibility. Laborers must be recognized as being entitled to as much consideration as employers, and their rights must be equally safeguarded. This may be accomplished by assuring the workers, as

rapidly as it can be done with due consideration to conditions, a fair share in control, especially in matters where they are directly involved; by opportunity for ownership, with corresponding representation; or by a combination of ownership and control in co-operative production.

#### **Industry as Service**

The Christian and modern conception of industry makes it a public service. The parties of interest are not only labor and capital, but also the community, whose interest transcends that of either labor or capital. The state, as the governmental agency of the community, with the co-operation of all involved, should attempt to secure to the worker an income sufficient to maintain his family at a standard of living which the community can approve. This living wage should be made the first charge upon industry before dividends are considered. As to excess profits, after a just wage, fair salaries, interest upon capital, and sinking funds have been provided, we commend the spirit and the conclusions of the Twenty British Quaker Employers in awarding a large part of excess profits to the community, to be devoted voluntarily to public uses or returned by taxation.

#### **High Wages**

The hoped-for reduction in the cost of living has not yet materialized, and it is now evident that we are on a permanently higher price-level. The resistance of labor to general wage reductions, even when accompanied by reduced hours of work, should therefore receive moral support from the community, except where the demand is clearly unreasonable. Wage-levels must be high enough to maintain a standard of living worthy of responsible free citizenship in a democracy. As was pointed out in the statement on social reconstruction by the National Catholic War Council, a considerable majority of the wage-earners of the

United States were not receiving living wages when prices began to rise in 1915. Real wages are also relative to the cost of living and vary with the purchasing power of the dollar. Actual wages, that is, wages reckoned in power to purchase commodities, have been decreasing for several years in spite of wage increases. There is urgent need of provision by industry, under the guidance of the government, for some regular method of adjustment of wages and salaries to the purchasing power of money.

#### **Unemployment**

Unemployment is one of the tragedies of the present industrial order, which the war has demonstrated can be controlled, or at least effectively reduced, by the government and co-operating voluntary agencies. Any adequate attempt to meet the problem of unemployment should include: (a) rehabilitation and permanent maintenance of a co-ordinate nation-wide employment service; (b) reorganization of seasonal trades, wherever practicable, so as to make continuous employment possible; (c) a policy of public works and land settlement framed with particular reference to the absorption of unemployed labor; (d) a guarded extension of provisions and opportunities for social insurance to cover unemployment due to industrial conditions, or to ill health, accident, or old age. To offer work is more valuable than unemployment insurance. (e) The rehabilitation of industrial cripples under the direction of the state and at the expense of industry. The possibilities of such rehabilitation have been demonstrated in relation to the cripples of war.

#### **Paying for the War**

The American war debt, while not comparable with that of European belligerents, will yet be very large. Powerful influences are organized to shift the burdens of this debt upon the public, while the public itself is unorganized and unable to protect itself. A beginning has been made in

direct taxes, some of which have been levied upon the minor luxuries of the people, and a revolt has already taken place against this policy throughout the country. These taxes are now likely to be charged up to producers, and they in turn will recoup themselves by indirect charges, the fairness of which the public will not be in a position to estimate.

Perhaps no greater or more perplexing problem of fair distribution of wealth has ever been faced in this country. It is very necessary that a policy in the matter shall be carefully worked out in the interest of public welfare, to maintain and if possible to advance the general standard of living, and that it shall not be settled by a selfish struggle of interests. While the cost of the war should fall in a fair measure upon all, resolute use should be made of the now accepted graduated income and inheritance taxes as a just method for placing the heavier burdens of the debt upon those most able to bear them, and lifting them correspondingly from the shoulders of those least able to carry them.

#### **Democratic Rights of Women**

The importance of the democratic rights of women is not as yet comprehended by public opinion. Their freedom, their right to political and economic equality with men, are fundamental to democracy and to the safety of the future. The church stands also for adequate safeguards to industrial women, for a living wage, the eight-hour day as a maximum requirement; prohibition of night work, equal pay for equal work, and other standard requirements of industry in which women are engaged.

The necessity for protective legislation, such as the limiting of hours and the prohibition of night work, is shown by the survey of women's labor in one of the states, submitted to the governor by the director of the Women in Industry Service of the federal Department of Labor, which reveals

that out of 112 large plants studied only 10 per cent have an eight-hour day, and one-third of the employers of plants worked women as long as 65, 73, 75, 84, and 88 hours and 40 minutes a week. Five states have as yet no legislation governing the working hours of women.

#### **Justice to the Negro**

The splendid service of the colored soldiers in the war, and the unanimous loyalty and devotion of the colored people of the nation, reinforce the justness of the demand that they should be recognized fully as Americans and fellow-citizens, that they should be given equal economic and professional opportunities, with increasing participation in all community affairs, and that a spirit of friendship and co-operation should obtain between the white and colored people, north and south. The colored people should have parks and playgrounds, equal wages for equal work, adequate and efficient schools, courteous and equal facilities and courtesy when traveling, adequate housing, lighting, and sanitation, police protection, and equality before the law. Especially should the barbarism of lynching be condemned by public opinion and abolished by rigorous measures and penalties.

#### **Housing**

The housing situation in the cities and industrial communities of the nation has become serious because of the cessation of building during the war, and is resulting in overcrowding and marked increase of rents. The war-time housing projects of the government where they are well located and clearly needed, should be completed. Above all, the housing standards set by the government during the war should never be lowered. In the emergency we urge persons who have free capital to invest in homes for the workers, first, however, studying the problem of housing in its modern aspects. It is especially necessary to watch efforts in the various state legislatures to break down protective legislation.

The ideal of housing is to provide every family with a good home, where possible an individual house, at reasonable rates, with standard requirements of light, heat, water, and sanitation; and to encourage home-owning by securing a living wage, permanence of employment, cheap transit to and from work, and ending the speculative holding of lands in and around cities and towns.

#### **A New Social Morality**

The church has also certain manifest functions and duties in the co-operative effort which is being organized by the Public Health Service for sex morality and the control of venereal diseases. Its most important function is the instruction of children and young people in the spiritual ideals of love and the relation of the sexes; the training of young men to be good husbands and fathers, as well as of young women to be good wives and mothers; personal watchfulness by pastors, teachers and leaders of clubs over young people, especially over those who manifest tendencies to indiscretion; educational assistance to parents in the training of their children.

The statement also deplores the tendencies to violence, as exhibited by certain revolutionary groups. It asks for fuller freedom of discussion of social questions; it lays emphasis upon the work of Americanization; it asks that society shall provide substitutes for the saloon. Finally, it discusses in some detail the church's distinctive program, both in its ministry of education and in community service.

#### **The American Methodist Episcopal Church**

At the Centenary Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, June 25, 1919, composed of the bishops, district superintendents, and other officers of the

Methodist Episcopal church, the following statement was adopted:

As this is not a legislative body it cannot, of course, give an authoritative utterance for the church on this vital subject. It can only record its conviction. The marked condition of social and industrial as well as political unrest and upheaval, through which the world is now passing, calls for the best thoughts which the church can give. While much of this condition is a direct result of the war, it is also a revelation disclosed by the war of things which have been in existence but have not been so clearly seen.

The only wise thing for the church to do is to face these problems with the same courage it has shown in other great issues. Closing the eyes will find no solution.

In the study of causes it is clear that there are grave inequalities of opportunities facing many men and serious inequalities in the distribution of the products of their toil.

The privileges of self-development, spiritual and intellectual, are denied to multitudes of toilers, both for themselves and their families, because of the hard conditions under which they must labor for their daily bread.

Every man is, under God, entitled to something more than a bare living for himself and his family, if he be sober and industrious. The church, commissioned of its great Head to preach "abundant life" for all, cannot be indifferent to the deplorable condition mentioned.

The church must regard the laborer as a man, not a machine; as a living soul, not a commercial commodity, to be purchased on the market. This is essential for the common good of society as much as for the welfare of the individuals directly concerned, for the essence of civilization is found in the value placed upon human life. This is also the genius of the Gospel of Christ upon which alone true civilization can be built.

It is the business of the church to set up the Kingdom of God in the earth; that is, to bring about such conditions that each man will have his chance to reach his best estate.

To this end the church is under obligation to encourage a better understanding between employers and employees, so that whatever rights are claimed by one shall be enjoyed by the other. In other words, it must strenuously inculcate the principle that employers and employees, in their very nature, are partners, not competitors; allies, not enemies. On no other basis can permanent harmony between them be established.

This means not only the democratization of industry but its Christianization also. It means that power, either political, economic, or industrial, shall not be monopolized by one class to the detriment or defrauding of another. Indeed, class distinctions must disappear if a true Christian civilization is ever to be realized. This only is the true democracy for which the world waits. The church of Christ must prepare the way for this by recognizing no barriers of class or race and by discouraging wider development of class consciousness.

The church must be interested in all men, in all the ranks of life. It must have an equal ministry to all, devoid of partisanship or favoritism. It must be as much concerned in the wages of the poor as in the wealth of the rich. It must see the menace to society in those that have too much, as well as in those who have too little. There are encouraging signs that the great movements of the times are toward the goal above described. The lessons of common brotherhood, born of the common peril of the great world-conflict just ended, will not easily be forgotten.

Employers are showing a disposition of greater fairness toward their employees, while the utterances of some recent labor conventions have been very pronounced against the use of violence in the settlement

of disputes and in condemnation of broken contracts between employers and employees.

The Methodist Episcopal church, with its advanced social creed, has openly avowed its advocacy of everything which will advance the common good. Let us have no fear of practicing what we preach, of encouraging the open discussion in the church of these vital questions until "the good of all shall become each man's law."

### **The Northern Baptist Convention**

The Social Service Committee of the Convention submitted a statement of the Principles of Social Reconstruction which was approved at Denver in May, 1919. Some parts of this may be given, as follows:

It is not a question whether there shall be some radical changes and thoroughgoing readjustments in the social order. Great changes are inevitable and some readjustments are imperative. But it is a question yet undetermined whether these changes shall come through conflict and confusion, or whether they shall be guided by reason and be motivated by religious ideals. In view of this the church, as the maker of the people's conscience and the leader of the social faith, has a special duty at this hour. It is necessary that men should understand the fundamental issues of this time, and should know what are the vital principles which should guide their efforts. Beyond all, it is necessary that men should cultivate that attitude of mind which will welcome change and prepare them to make such readjustments as are wise. To resist advance is to drive men into revolution. To expect change and progress is the attitude of religion and the answer of the prayer, "Thy kingdom come."

### **Social**

The ideal of the Kingdom of God is a perfect life in a perfect society. Our plans and efforts are Christian in so far as they

move in line with the progress of the Kingdom. The men of good will are called to express their faith, their devotion, their love in all the relations of life, and to build these into the structure of the social order. The following principles suggest the things that now demand emphasis:

1. The conservation of child life by insuring each child adequate food, pure air, wholesome housing, and careful supervision of health and morals.

2. The necessity of insuring every family adequate housing at reasonable rates, encouraging home-owning by securing permanence of employment, maintaining a good building and housing code, providing speedy transit service at reasonable rates, and ending the speculative owning of land around towns and cities.

3. The warfare against alcoholism and venereal disease by strict legislation, by scientific and moral instruction, by providing adequate life-interests, social centers, and saloon substitutes.

4. Every community to have a comprehensive recreation program, providing playgrounds and parks accessible to the people, with careful supervision of all places of amusement.

5. Property, skill, and life, being a social stewardship and having social obligations, are to be held to account and used for common welfare.

6. The creation of peace-time morale by peace-time methods that shall unify the people, co-ordinate the forces of the nation, develop and maintain a national discipline, increase national vitality and promote health, require every person to contribute his share of social service, and seek to train every person for effective and useful life.

7. The creation of a united people with American ideals by instruction in principles of democracy and a wise policy of Americanization.

8. The establishment of such a system of taxation as will equalize burdens, provide

adequate funds for social progress, and return to the community values created by the community.

9. The realization of a positive democracy by reinterpreting its meaning, by emphasizing its obligations, and establishing the democratic principle in political, social, and industrial life.

10. Increasing the food supply and insuring a more satisfactory country life by encouraging education and scientific agriculture, stimulating co-operative marketing of products, providing adequate means of transportation, with public grain-elevators, cold-storage plants, and abattoirs.

#### **Industrial**

It is evident to all that there must be some thoroughgoing changes in the industrial order. The principle of democracy must find interpretation and realization in industrial relations. Some way must be found whereby all parties in industry can be associated as partners in the enterprise. Some organization of industry must be created which shall make for confidence and good will. And some policies must be established that shall secure a more just and equitable distribution of the proceeds of industry. The following are the principles which need interpretation and emphasis:

1. The conviction that industry is a social service existing for the sake of life, and the insistence that in its processes, methods, and results it shall serve human well-being—"He profits most who serves best."

2. The recognition that all parties in industry—investors, managers, workers, the community—are partners, and the cultivation of an attitude of confidence, co-operation, justice, good will on the part of all.

3. The creation of a constitution or charter for industry, defining the terms and conditions of labor, providing adequate and speedy redress of wrong on a basis of social justice, insuring representation by all

parties, and providing for a progressive participation by all in knowledge of the enterprise, a voice in its direction, and an equitable sharing in its proceeds.

4. As steps toward full industrial democracy, provision for organization of the workers, with collective bargaining; the creation by industry and society together of adequate means for investigation, conciliation, and arbitration in all disputes.

5. The recognition that industry is an interest within society and serves society; it must, therefore, be subject to supervision by the state and be co-ordinated with all other factors of society.

6. Such supervision and direction by society of the factors and agencies of production, transportation, and communication as will safeguard the interests of all the people and prevent monopoly and exploitation by the few.

7. A comprehensive national survey of such national resources as coal, iron, oil, water, timber, soil, with an adequate national supervision to prevent their exploitation and waste, and to conserve the benefits for all the people and for other generations.

8. Full provision by the state for vocational training as a vital part of general education, designed to make every person an effective worker and giving scope to the creative impulse in industry.

9. The provision of adequate measures of social insurance against unemployment, sickness, disability, and old age.

10. The determination of a national minimum provision for a living income, forbidding the industrial employment of children, safeguarding the health of women, affording security against destitution to every member of society, and insuring one day of rest in seven.

#### **International**

The great world-war is a challenge to our faith and a call to international reconstruction. The fact that such a calamity could



befall the race in this twentieth century shows that there are some serious defects in the world-order. It compels a rigorous scrutiny of the underlying principles of our civilization. The task of the hour, therefore, sums itself up in the reconstruction of the international life of the world in righteousness, brotherhood, and peace. The following are the principles that must find a place in the foundations of a just and Christian international order:

1. The creation of an international mind and conscience, the recognition of the interdependence and solidarity of nations, and the loyalties of men to one national group expanding into a loyalty to all mankind.

2. The organization of a league of nations or society of states, with an international constitution or bill of rights, an international congress, an international court, and an international agreement to enforce decisions.

3. The league of nations to be fully democratic providing for full publicity and effective popular representation and guaranteeing to every people self-determination within its own borders, subject to the interests of the world, and full opportunity in the earth.

4. Where disputes between nations fail to be adjusted by the international law of the league of nations, the questions at issue to be submitted to an international court of arbitration.

5. The guaranty to every state of economic equality among the states; no special privileges to be granted to one nation as against others.

6. No exploitation of backward peoples; economic opportunity in such territory shall be open to all peoples on equal terms.

7. International roads or trade-routes to be made international highways, open to all on equal terms.

8. Landlocked or inland states to be guaranteed access to the sea, and to have the use of seaports on equal terms with other states.

9. Investments and concessions in backward countries to be based on recognized principles of international law, and to be subject to international supervision.

10. Backward or unorganized peoples to be placed under international guardianship, with protection of their resources and raw materials.

11. The provision by international law and world-interdependence, whereby the resources and raw materials of one people shall be safeguarded against exploitation and may be made accessible to all peoples and held in trust for all mankind.

12. The establishment and maintenance of international conventions designed to define and enforce an international minimum of industrial standards.

#### **The Roman Catholic Church in America**

The Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council has issued a statement on social reconstruction, giving a general review of the problems and a survey of remedies. A number of items in this interesting report may be given:

##### **A Practical and Moderate Program**

The first problem in the process of reconstruction is the industrial replacement of the discharged soldiers and sailors. The majority of these will undoubtedly return to their previous occupations. However, a very large number of them will either find their previous places closed to them, or will be eager to consider the possibility of more attractive employments. The most important single measure for meeting this situation that has yet been suggested is the placement of such men on farms. It is essential that both the work of preparation and the subsequent settlement of the land should be effected by groups or colonies, not by men living independently of one another and in depressing isolation. A plan of this

sort is already in operation in England. The importance of the project as an item of any social-reform program is obvious. It would afford employment to thousands upon thousands, would greatly increase the number of farm owners and independent farmers, and would tend to lower the cost of living by increasing the amount of agricultural products.

#### **United States Employment Service**

The reinstatement of the soldiers and sailors in urban industries will no doubt be facilitated by the United States Employment Service. It is the obvious duty of Congress to continue and strengthen this important institution. The problem of unemployment is with us always. Its solution requires the co-operation of many agencies and the use of many methods; but the primary and indispensable instrument is a national system of labor exchanges, acting in harmony with state, municipal, and private employment bureaus.

#### **Women War Workers**

One of the most important problems of readjustment is that created by the presence in industry of immense numbers of women who have taken the places of men during the war. Mere justice, to say nothing of chivalry, dictates that these women should not be compelled to suffer any greater loss or inconvenience than is absolutely necessary; for their services to the nation have been second only to the services of the men whose places they were called upon to fill. One general principle is clear: no female worker should remain in any occupation that is harmful to health or morals. Women should disappear as quickly as possible from such tasks as conducting and guarding street cars, cleaning locomotives, and a great number of other activities for which conditions of life and their physique render them unfit. Another general principle is that the proportion of women in industry ought to be kept within the smallest practical limits.

#### **National War Labor Board**

One of the most beneficial governmental organizations of the war is the National War Labor Board. Upon the basis of a few fundamental principles, unanimously adopted by the representatives of labor, capital, and the public, it has prevented innumerable strikes, and raised wages to decent levels in many different industries throughout the country. Its main guiding principles have been a family living wage for all male adult laborers; recognition of the right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through its chosen representatives; and no coercion of non-union laborers by members of the union. The War Labor Board ought to be continued in existence by Congress, and endowed with all the power for effective action that it can possess under the federal Constitution. The principles, methods, machinery, and results of this institution constitute a definite and far-reaching gain for social justice. No part of this advantage should be lost or given up in time of peace.

#### **Present Wage Rates Should Be Sustained**

The general level of wages attained during the war should not be lowered. In a few industries, especially some directly and peculiarly connected with the carrying on of war, wages have reached a plane upon which they cannot possibly continue for this grade of occupations. But the number of workers in this situation is an extremely small proportion of the entire wage-earning population. The overwhelming majority should not be compelled or suffered to undergo any reduction in their rates of remuneration, for two reasons: first, because the average rate of pay has not increased faster than the cost of living; second, because a considerable majority of the wage-earners of the United States, both men and women, were not receiving living wages when prices began to rise in 1915. Therefore wages should not be reduced on the whole, even when the cost of living recedes

from its present high level. On grounds both of justice and sound economics, we should give our hearty support to all legitimate efforts made by labor to resist general wage reductions.

#### **Housing for Working Classes**

Housing projects for war workers which have been completed or almost completed by the government of the United States have cost some forty million dollars and are found in eleven cities. The great cities in which congestion and other forms of bad housing are disgracefully apparent ought to take up and continue the work, at least to such an extent as will remove the worst features of a social condition that is a menace at once to industrial efficiency, civic health, good morals, and religion.

#### **Reduction of the Cost of Living**

During the war the cost of living has risen at least 75 per cent above the level of 1913. Some check has been placed upon the upward trend by government fixing of prices in the case of bread and coal and a few other commodities. Even if we believe it desirable, we cannot ask that the government continue this action after the articles of peace have been signed; for neither public opinion nor Congress is ready for such a revolutionary policy. If the extortionate practices of monopoly were prevented by adequate laws and adequate law enforcement, prices would automatically be kept at as low a level as that to which they might be brought by direct government determination.

More important and more effective than any government regulation of prices would be the establishment of co-operative stores. The enormous toll taken from industry by the various classes of middlemen is now fully realized. The astonishing difference between the price received by the producer and that paid by the consumer has become a scandal to our industrial system. The obvious and direct means of reducing this

discrepancy and abolishing unnecessary middlemen is the operation of retail and wholesale mercantile concerns under the ownership and management of the consumers. This is no Utopian scheme. It has been successfully carried out in England and Scotland through the Rochdale system.

#### **The Legal Minimum Wage**

Turning now from those agencies and laws that have been put in operation during the war to the general subject of labor legislation and problems, we are glad to note that there is no longer any serious objection urged by impartial persons against the legal minimum wage. The several states should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage-rates that will be at least sufficient for the decent maintenance of a family in the case of all male adults, and adequate to the decent individual support of female workers.

#### **Social Insurance**

Until this level of legal minimum wages is reached the worker stands in need of the device of insurance. The state should make comprehensive provision for insurance against illness, invalidity, unemployment, and old age. So far as possible the insurance fund should be raised by a levy on industry, as is now done in the case of accident compensation. The industry in which a man is employed should provide him with all that is necessary to meet all the needs of his entire life.

The life insurance offered to soldiers and sailors during the war should be continued, so far as the enlisted men are concerned. It is very doubtful whether the time has yet arrived when public opinion would sanction the extension of general life insurance by the government to all classes of the community.

The establishment and maintenance of municipal health inspection in all schools, public and private, is now pretty generally recognized as of great importance and

benefit. Municipal clinics where the poorer classes could obtain the advantage of medical treatment by specialists at a reasonable cost would likewise seem to have become a necessity. A vast amount of unnecessary sickness and suffering exists among the poor and the lower middle classes because they cannot afford the advantages of any other treatment except that provided by the general practitioner. The service of these clinics should be given gratis only to those who cannot afford to pay.

#### **Labor Participation in Industrial Management**

The right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through representatives has been asserted above in connection with the discussion of the War Labor Board. It is to be hoped that this right will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers. In addition to this, labor ought gradually to receive greater representation in what the English group of Quaker employers have called the "industrial" part of business management—"the control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of employees; hours of work, rates of pay, bonuses, etc.; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade-unions." The establishment of shop committees, working wherever possible with the trade-union, is the method suggested by this group of employers for giving the employees the proper share of industrial management. There can be no doubt that a frank adoption of these means and ends by employers would not only promote the welfare of the workers but vastly improve the relations between them and their employers and increase the efficiency and productiveness of each establishment.

#### **Vocational Training**

The need of industrial, or as it has come to be more generally called, vocational, training, is now universally acknowledged. In the interest of the nation, as well as in

that of the workers themselves, this training should be made substantially universal. While we cannot now discuss the subject in any detail, we do wish to set down two general observations. First, the vocational training should be offered in such forms and conditions as not to deprive the children of the working classes of at least the elements of a cultural education. A healthy democracy cannot tolerate a purely industrial or trade education for any class of its citizens.

#### **Child Labor**

The question of education naturally suggests the subject of child labor. Public opinion in the majority of the states of our country has set its face inflexibly against the continuous employment of children in industry before the age of sixteen years. Within a reasonably short time all of our states, except some stagnant ones, will have laws providing for this reasonable standard. The education of public opinion must continue, but inasmuch as the process is slow, the abolition of child labor in certain sections seems unlikely to be brought about by the legislatures of those states, and since the Keating-Owen Act has been declared unconstitutional, there seems to be no device by which this reproach to our country can be removed except that of taxing child labor out of existence.

#### **Ultimate and Fundamental Reforms**

Despite the practical and immediate character of the present statement, we cannot entirely neglect the question of ultimate aims and a systematic program; for other groups are busy issuing such systematic pronouncements, and we all need something of the kind as a philosophical foundation and as a satisfaction to our natural desire for comprehensive statements.

#### **Main Defects of Present System**

Nevertheless, the present system stands in grievous need of considerable modifications and improvement. Its main defects are three: enormous inefficiency and waste

in the production and distribution of commodities; insufficient incomes for the great majority of wage-earners; and unnecessarily large incomes for a small minority of privileged capitalists. The evils in production and in the distribution of goods would be in a great measure abolished by the reforms that have been outlined in the foregoing pages. Production will be greatly increased by universal living wages, by adequate industrial education, and by harmonious relations between labor and capital on the basis of adequate participation by the former in all the industrial aspects of business management. The wastes of commodity distribution could be practically all eliminated by co-operative mercantile establishments and co-operative selling and marketing associations.

#### **Co-operation and Copartnership**

Nevertheless, the full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of the workers remain mere wage-earners. The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through co-operative productive societies and copartnership arrangements.

#### **Abolition and Control of Monopolies**

For the third evil mentioned above, excessive gains by a small minority of privileged capitalists, the main remedies are prevention of monopolistic control of commodities, adequate government regulation of such public-service monopolies as will remain under private operation, and heavy taxation of incomes, excess profits, and inheritances. That the owners of public-service monopolies should be restricted by law to a fair or average return on their actual investment has long been a recognized principle of the courts, the legislatures, and public opinion. It is a principle which should be applied to competitive enter-

prises likewise, with the qualification that something more than the average rate of return should be allowed to men who exhibit exceptional efficiency. However, good public policy as well as equity demands that these exceptional business men share the fruits of their efficiency with the consumer in the form of lower prices. The man who utilizes his ability to produce cheaper than his competitors for the purpose of exacting from the public as high a price for his product as is necessary for the least efficient business man is a menace rather than a benefit to industry and society.

#### **A New Spirit of Vital Need**

"Society," said Pope Leo XIII, "can be healed in no other way than by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions." The laborer must come to realize that he owes his employer and society an honest day's work in return for a fair wage, and that conditions cannot be substantially improved until he roots out the desire to get a maximum of return for a minimum of service. The capitalist must likewise get a new viewpoint. He needs to learn the long-forgotten truth that wealth is stewardship, that profit-making is not the basic justification of business enterprise, and that there are such things as fair profits, fair interest, and fair prices. Above and before all, he must cultivate and strengthen within his mind the truth which many of his class have begun to grasp for the first time during the present war, namely that the laborer is a human being, not merely an instrument of production; and that the laborer's right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry. The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages. This is the human and Christian, in contrast to the purely commercial and pagan, ethics of industry.

### **The American Jewish Rabbis**

The American Rabbis at the Central Conference, held in Chicago, June, 1919, adopted the following:

*The preamble.*—The next few decades will have as their chief concern the rectification of social and economic evils. The world will busy itself, not only with the establishment of political, but also with the achievement of industrial, democracy through social justice. The ideal of social justice has always been an integral part of Judaism. It is in accordance with tradition, therefore, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis submits this declaration of principles as a program for the attainment of which the followers of our faith should strive.

1. A more equitable distribution of the profits of industry.
2. A minimum wage which will insure for all workers a fair standard of living.
3. The legal enactment of an eight-hour day as a maximum for all industrial workers.
4. A compulsory one-day-of-rest-in-seven for all compulsory workers.
5. Regulation of industrial conditions to give all workers a safe and sanitary working environment, with particular reference to the special needs of women.
6. Abolition of child labor and raising the standard of age wherever the legal age limit is lower than is consistent with moral and physical health.
7. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases.
8. Legislative provision for universal workmen's health insurance and careful study of social-insurance methods for meeting the contingencies of unemployment and old age.
9. An adequate, permanent national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of America.
10. Recognition of the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively.

11. Application of the principles of mediation, conciliation, and arbitration to industrial disputes.

12. Proper housing for working-people secured through government regulation when necessary.

13. The preservation and integrity of the home by a system of mothers' pensions.

14. Constructive care of dependents, defectives, and criminals with the aim of restoring them to normal life wherever possible.

A number of declarations have been issued by representatives of other bodies. In the main, however, these have been issued by some agency more or less unofficial and so do not have the authorization of the official body. They are, though, quite as significant as any of the statements given, and show unmistakably the drift of thought.

It is not possible to analyze these statements in detail and show wherein they agree and where they differ. A few things may be noted.

These statements all recognize the duty of the churches to concern themselves with social and industrial matters. For years men have charged the churches with undue "other-worldliness" and so with little interest in practical everyday matters. These statements completely answer that charge and show that the churches both understand the age in which they live and are determined to give their testimony. As a matter of fact, many people are now complaining because the churches are "neglecting the Gospel" and are concerning themselves with outside matters. The church leaders, at least, frankly confess the universal Lordship of Christ and are seeking to interpret his redemptive purpose in its social, industrial, and international bearings.

Several of the statements deal primarily with reforms and amelioratives. Two or three frankly call for a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the entire industrial system. Many of the statements, though moderate in form, are by no means vague and meaningless, and the principles dealt with, when interpreted and applied, will mean radical changes in the industrial order and will carry us a long way toward the goal. Speaking of the present system, the Archbishops' Committee finds that "its faults are not the accidental or occasional maladjustments of a social order the general spirit or tendency of which can be accepted as satisfactory by Christians. They are the expression of certain deficiencies deeply rooted in the nature of the order itself." The Northern Baptist Social Service Committee finds that there must be some thoroughgoing changes in the industrial order; that its fundamental principles must be changed, and that some organization of industry must be created which shall make for confidence and good will.

Nearly all of the statements commit the churches to the program of industrial democracy. They believe that industry must be regarded as a partnership; they insist that the workers shall have a real voice in the management of industry; and they believe that the proceeds of industry should be distributed in a more fair and equitable way than at present; in fact, that the proceeds of industry shall be distributed on an understood basis and by the decision of all parties. The churches, many of them at least, are fully committed to the principle of democracy all along the line; and in the words of the Federal Council say that

"the church should therefore clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible co-operative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends."

Several of the statements condemn all monopoly, whether of natural resources of transportation and of distribution. The Canadian Methodists declare all special privileges not based on useful service to the community to be a violation of "the principles of justice." They also declare "in favor of the nationalization of our national resources, such as mines, water-powers, fisheries, forests, the means of communication and transportation and public utilities on which the people depend." The Northern Baptists declare that "the resources of the earth are the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized by the few to the disadvantage of the many." They also ask for public grain elevators, cold-storage plants, and abattoirs; they ask further that there be an end to "the speculative owning of land around towns and cities"; and for a system of taxation that will "return to the community values created by the community." The Archbishops' Report asks for substantially the same thing.

On the question of income and wealth several of the declarations are very pronounced. The Federal Council of the Churches insists upon "the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property and for the most equitable distribution of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised." The British Quakers are more explicit; they believe "that in equity the community may claim the greater part of the surplus profits." The

American Catholics believe that "our immense war debt constitutes a particular reason why incomes and excess profits should be heavily taxed." The Northern Baptists say that "property, skill, and life, being a social stewardship and having social obligations, are to be held to account and used for public welfare." They also ask that "income received and benefits enjoyed should hold a direct relation to service rendered." The Archbishops' Report says plainly that people who are living idly, whether on charity or on inherited wealth, are committing a sin.

It would be possible to discuss other subjects more in detail. But the point of view of the churches is more important than their specific programs, and the illustrations given show the point of view.

In conclusion, one or two things may be noted: The churches are fairly committed to the interpretation of the social gospel and the work of social reconstruction. They recognize that Christianity is here not alone to save individuals but to become the constitutive power of a new social order. They emphasize the duty of all leaders and teachers to interpret Christian principles in their relation to the whole of life, that Christian people may have both the social mind and seek to make Christ a fact in the life of society.

It must be admitted that many in the churches have not kept pace with their leaders. Anyone acquainted with the churches will admit that there is a wide discrepancy between these declarations of principles and the practice of the people. But the churches are made up of people, and it takes time to move large masses.

Let no one suppose that the churches will escape criticism from within, or that the world is to move into Utopia tomorrow morning. Many things indicate that the men of privilege in both state and industry are becoming concerned over the drift. Some commercial leaders are calling upon their fellows to withstand this new social doctrine and to refuse to support those who advocate it. Not long ago a leading financier said to a friend of mine in a warning way: "You preachers take your life in your hands when you deal with industrial questions." It may be that some preachers here and there may fall under the censure of the privileged interests and may suffer. But it is too late in the day to discount the social gospel or to forbid the work of social reconstruction. The work before the church is a long and hard way; there is no easy road into the Kingdom of God. But it is something to have a sense of direction and to be determined to follow the light.

The church is seriously trying to interpret Christian principles in their full scope and to show men how to create a Christian social order. It is beginning to have a permanently troubled conscience in the presence of slums and red-light districts, disinherited lives, and social injustice. It refuses any longer to accept injustice and poverty, disease and war, as either divine or necessary, and it is growing a determination that these must end. It is realizing as never before that Christianity is here as the constitutive power of a new social order, and it is mobilizing men for the enterprise of building the City of God on earth.



REFERENCES

For the convenience of those who desire further information on these subjects we append the names and addresses of a number of religious bodies that have issued material on social reconstruction.

*England.*—Interdenominational Social Service Unions, 92 St. George's Square, London, S.W.; Archibishops' Fifth Committee, Published by S.P.C.K., 6 St. Martin's Place, London, W.C., No. 2; English Quaker Employers, published by the Friend's Book Shop, 140 Bishop Gate, London, E.C., No. 2.

*Canada.*—Department of Social Service and Evangelism, Methodist Church of Canada, 518 Wesley Bldg., Toronto, Ontario.

*United States.*—Federal Council of Churches, Rev. Worth W. Tippy, secretary of Commission

on Church and Social Service, 105 E. 22d St., New York City; Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Rev. F. M. Crouch, secretary, 189 Fifth Ave., New York City; Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention, Rev. Samuel Zane Batten, chairman, 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.; National Catholic War Council, 930 Fourteenth St. NW., Washington, D.C.; Methodist Federation for Social Service, Rev. Harry F. Ward, secretary, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City; Department of Social Service Congregational Home Mission Society, Rev. A. H. Holt, secretary, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. An excellent classified list of church and other agencies is given in the "Reconstruction Program" published by the Woman's Press, Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Ave., New York City.

---

## PREMILLENNIALISM

### III. WHERE PREMILLENNIALISM LEADS

---

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL, PH.D., D.D.

Professor of Systematic Theology in Garrett Biblical Institute  
Evanston, Illinois

---

It is an appropriate test for any religious system to ask where it would lead if it were consistently and thoroughly carried out. Premillennialism, as has been pointed out in previous articles, is not an unrelated theory at one point in theology but a complete doctrinal system. And while doctrinal differences are not always very significant for practice, here is one that cuts deeper than the differences which separate the great Protestant bodies today. More and more Christian forces, irrespective of denominational lines, are committed to certain great movements. Some of these are broadly social, like

those of democracy, social justice, international peace through a league of nations, and reforms like the prohibition of liquor. Others are more specifically church movements, like religious education, the modern missionary movement, Christian unity and federation, and the great religious forward movements of recent years. A consistent application of adventist principles would make a sweeping change in this whole program. It is in these practical consequences that there lies the necessity of a discussion like this. That many adventist adherents do not see the logic of their position and are better than their principles